

Message Text

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14

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1368

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 2345

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT PO DA

SUBJ: COMMENTS ON DANISH PRIME MINISTERS VISIT
TO PORTUGAL

REF: COPENHAGEN 2323 AND PREVIOUS

SUMMARY: POUL NIELSON, WHO ACCOMPANIED PRIME MINISTER
JORGENSEN TO PORTUGAL, TOLD US THE DANES WERE VERY DEPRESSED
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BY WHAT THEY FOUND THERE. NIELSON'S ANALYSIS OF THE

SITUATION WAS LAREGLY BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH SOARES.
THE GENESIS OF JORGENSEN'S TRIP AND SAID THAT HE (NIELSON)
WOULD BE DRAFTING A REPORT TO PALME AS CHAIRMAN OF THE
STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

1) POUL NIELSON, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
PARTY'S FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, ACCOMPANIED PRIME
MINISTER ANKER JORGENSEN TO PORTUGAL AND
PARTICIPATED IN ALL THE LATTER'S CONVERSATIONS WITH
PORTUGUESE PERSONALITIES. ON AUGUST 14, NIELSON PROVIDED US
WITH A READ OUT OF THE TRIP AND NOTED THAT HIS
ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION WAS BASED LARGELY ON
CONVERSATIONS THE DANES HAD HAD WITH SOARES.

2) NIELSON SAID JORGENSEN WAS VERY DEPRESSED BY THE
SITUATION HE FOUND IN PORTUGAL.
ALLIANCES AMONG THE VARIOUS
PORTUGUESE POWER GROUPS WERE MERCURIAL AND SHIFTING
ALMOST DAILY. AT THE MOMENT IT SEEMS AS IF GONCALVES
AND THE COMMUNISTS WERE STANDING ALONE AGAINST THE OTHER
DISPARATE ELEMENTS WHICH ARE FIGHTING FOR CONTROL:
CARVALHO, THE NON-COMMUNIST POLITCAL GROUPS, MOST OF THE
ARMED FORCES, THE CHURCH, AND THE MASSES OF THE POEPLER.

3) WHEN ASKED HOW THE REALTIVELY SMALL AND INCREASINGLY
ISOLATED POWER STRUCTURE REPRESENTED BY GONCALVES COULD
WITHSTAND A CONCERTED ATTEMPT BY OPPONENTS TO PUSH IT ASIDE,
NIELSON REPLIED WITH TWO OBSERVATIONS. FIRST, THE OPPOSI-
TION TO GONCALVES AND HIS ALLIES WAS BY NO MEANS A
CONCERTED ONE. SECOND, THE MILITARY WHO OPPOSE MOVEMENT
TOWARD A COMMUNIST CONTROLLED STATE WERE RELUCTANT TO
DEPOSE GONCALVES.

4) POLCOUNS ASKED WHETHER NIELSON THOUGHT THAT FOREIGN
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL WOULD HELP DEMOCRATIC
FORCES IN A MEANINGFUL AND TIMELY WAY SO AS TO EXERT AN
INFLUENCE ON THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN PORTUGAL. NIELSON
REPLIED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO TRACE STIMULUS AND EFFECT
IN SUCH A SITUATION BUT THAT THE ECONOMIC PRESSURES BEING
BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT WOULD REACH "STUNNING
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PROPORTIONS" VERY SHORTLY AND CITED THE RETURN TO THE METRO-
POLE OF THE REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA AS ONE EXAMPLE. THE DILEMMA,
HE ACKNOWLEDGED, WAS THAT HELPING THE GONCALVES GOVERNMENT
NOW MIGHT STRENGTHEN IT. SOME SORT OF CONDITIONS SHOULD BE
ATTACHED TO OFFERS OF AID BY WESTERN GOVERNMENTS TO PORTUGAL.
SOARES HIMSELF INTENDS TO "PULL ALL THE STOPS" TO GET
GONCALVES TO RESIGN.

6) NIELSON BELIEVED THAT THE JORGENSEN TRIP ACCOMPLISHED PRETTY MUCH WHAT IT SET OUT TO DO: TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE THAT SOARES AND HIS PARTY WERE (1) THE ONLY VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE THREAT OF A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN PORTUGAL AND (2) THE PRESENT MEANS OF ACHIEVING ACCEPTABILITY AND AID FROM THE WESTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES.

7) NIELSON OBSERVED THAT IT WAS "UNUSUAL" FOR A PRIME MINISTER TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A TRIP AS A "PARTY LEADER" BUT THAT THE PERILOUS SITUATION IN PORTUGAL DEMANDED UNTRADITIONAL RESPONSES. NIELSON RECALLED THAT THE GENESIS OF JORGENSEN'S TRIP WAS HIS DECISION A NUMBER OF MONTHS AGO TO GO WITH HIS WIFE ON SUMMER HOLIDAY IN PORTUGAL. HE HAD HOPED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS HOLIDAY TO HAVE CONVERSATIONS WITH SOARES AND OTHER NON-COMMUNIST PORTUGUESE LEADERS. THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS, CULMINATING IN THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE, LED HIM TO REVISE HIS PLANS AND TO UNDERTAKE THE TRIP HE HAD JUST MADE INSTEAD. ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT "EXPRESSLY COMMISSIONED" BY THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE TO ACT IN ITS BEHALF, HIS INTENDED TRIP WAS DISCUSSED AT THE CONFERENCE AND THE OTHER SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS CONCURRED IN THE LINE HE WOULD TAKE WHILE IN PORTUGAL.

8) AT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE HE WILL GIVE AN ORAL ACCOUNT OF HIS IMPRESSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS TO HIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC COLLEAGUES. NIELSON, HIMSELF, WILL DRAFT A FULL WRITTEN REPORT WHICH WILL BE SENT OVER JORGENSEN'S SIGNATURE TO SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER FALME IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PORTUGAL COMMITTEE ON THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE. LUKENS

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